

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 11276

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON, PFOR, PORG, UNESCO
SUBJECT: UNESCO: INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING TO
DRAFT A DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE:
DYNAMICS - PART II

REFS: (A) PARIS 10058, (B) STATE.075071

1. PERMDEL SHARES DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN THAT PREAMBULAR
PARA. 10 NOT BE HIGHLIGHTED BY SPECIAL TREATMENT IN
REPORTS OF THE RACE CONFERENCE THAT WILL BE SENT TO THE
20TH GENERAL CONFERENCE BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OR BY
THE RAPPORTEUR OF THE RACE CONFERENCE. BUT REGARDLESS
OF HOW THESE REPORTS TREAT PARA. 10, 3379 WILL BE
RAISED AT THE 20TH GC IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RACE DECLARATION,
AND POSSIBLY IN OTHER CONTEXTS. CONSENSUS ADOPTION OF THE
DRAFT DECLARATION WITHOUT PARA. 10 DEPENDED IN PART ON ARAB
BELIEF DURING THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE CONFERENCE THAT THEY
RISKED LOSING IF THE ISSUE
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CAME TO A VOTE. THEY SAW NO REASON TO FIGHT AND LOSE THE
BATTLE ONCE IN THE RACE CONFERENCE, AND THEN HAVE TO FIGHT
AGAIN WITH A RECORD OF ONE LOSS ON THE ISSUE WHEN IT ARISES
IN THE 20TH GC, WHICH MEETING IS THEIR PRIMARY TARGET. THE
IRAQI'S FINAL STATEMENT FOLLOWING CONSENSUS ADOPTION OF THE
DRAFT DECLARATION PROMISED ON BEHALF OF THE ARABS TO RAISE
3379 AT THE

20TH GC. THUS, AS STATED IN REFTEL A, THE DRAFT DECLARATION AS ADOPTED BY THE RACE CONFERENCE WAS ACCEPTED ONLY AS A BASIS FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATION AT THE 20TH GC.

2. WE NOTE THAT THE ISRAELI REP HELPED INSURE INDIRECT REFERENCE TO 3379 IN THE RAPPOREUR'S REPORT WHEN, IN FINAL PLENARY SESSION, HE REQUESTED CONFERENCE PRESIDENT TURKSON (GHANA) TO CLARIFY A STATEMENT TURKSON MADE RE CONSENSUS ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION. TURKSON USED A FORMULA AGREED TO WITH USDEL BEFOREHAND INDICATING THAT "CERTAIN ITEMS HAD ELUDED CONSENSUS," AND THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL WOULD INFORM THE 20TH GC OF THIS FACT. THE FORMULA DID NOT STATE SPECIFICALLY THAT PARA. 10 WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE DRAFT DECLARATION TRANSMITTED TO THE 20TH GC, AND THE ISRAELI REP (NAJAR) ASKED TURKSON TO BE PRECISE. TURKSON EVADED PRECISE STATEMENT (SEE PARA 3 FOLLOWING), BUT MERELY REPEATED HIS EARLIER FORMULATION.

3. RAPPOREUR'S REPORT STILL HAS NOT BEEN ISSUED BECAUSE ARABS ARE OBJECTING TO INCLUSION IN THAT REPORT OF THE PHRASE THAT PARA 10 "WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY THE MEETING," AND THEY ARE INSISTING THAT THE PHRASE BE DELETED. ACCORDING TO A SOURCE PRESENT WHILE TURKSON WAS NEGOTIATING PROCEDURAL SOLUTION FOR PARA. 10 WITH ARABS, TURKSON APPARENTLY AGREED TO ARAB CONDITION

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THAT HE NOT MAKE EXPLICIT IN HIS STATEMENT THAT PARA 10 WOULD BE DELETED. IT SEEMS THAT THE ARABS ARE TRYING TO EXTEND THIS COMMITMENT TO HAVING THE PHRASE DELETED FROM THE RAPPOREUR'S REPORT. ORIGINAL TEXT OF THIS REPORT IS THE FRENCH, AND THE RELEVANT PHRASE READS "N'A PAS ETE RETENU PAR LA REUNION."

4. IN ADDITION TO ISRAELI DEL'S MENTION OF PARA 10 IN PLENARY, FURTHER PRESSURES FOR DIRECT OR INDIRECT MENTION 3379 IN REPORTS AND AT THE 20TH GEN. CONF. ARISE FROM EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN DELS THAT HAD PARA 10 APPEARED IN TEXT, THEY COULD NOT HAVE JOINED CONSENSUS. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE THREE EXCHANGES IS THAT THEY STRONGLY ENHANCE IMPOSSIBILITY OF MENTION OF 3379 IN SOMEBODY'S REPORT-- EITHER THE RAPPOREUR'S OR THE DIRECTOR GENERAL'S.

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5. THE RAPPORTEUR (BJORNEBY-NORWAY) MAINTAINS THAT HIS REPORT MUST SHOW WHAT HAPPENED TO PARA 10 BECAUSE IT WAS DEALT WITH EXPLICITLY BY TURKSON AND BECAUSE CONSIDERATION OF THE PARA OCCUPIED AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE MEETING.

6. MEMBER STATES WILL DISCUSS THEIR RESERVATIONS TO THE TEXT AT THE 20TH GC, AND WILL PROPOSE THE AMENDMENTS OUTLINED IN THE REPORT IN SOME DETAIL. THESE RESERVATIONS, HOWEVER, FROM A SEPARATE ISSUE FROM THAT OF PARA 10, WHICH WAS ALREADY SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT BY THE RACE CONFERENCE BY BEING THE ONLY ELEMENT THAT WAS EXCLUDED FROM TEXTS FINALLY REPORTED BACK TO PLENARY BY THE BUREAU AND BY THE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATING GROUP (DNG). IN ESSENCE, DEBATE AND VOTE ON PARA 10 WERE PUT OFF BY A PROCEDURAL MOVE TO WHICH USDEL AGREED. BOTH CONDITIONS CONFORM TO REQUIREMENTS WE SET BEFORE THE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR US PARTICIPATION, AND BOTH WERE MET. TO MAINTAIN A CLEAN TEXT IN NOVEMBER, HOWEVER, WE WILL HAVE TO DO
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BATTLE AGAIN.

7. ROLE OF THE AFRICANS, INDIVIDUALLY AND AS A GROUP,

MERITS CAREFUL SCRUTINY.

A. M'BOW. SOURCES INTIMATELY FAMILIAR WITH WORKINGS OF MEETING HAD IMPRESSION THAT M'BOW CAREFULLY AVOIDED GETTING HIMSELF INTO THE POSITION OF HAVING TO MANAGE 3379 ON THE FLOOR. THESE SOURCES INTERPRET HIS TACTICS AS REFLECTING HIS EXPECTATION OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME ON 3379 WITHOUT HIS DIRECT INTERVENTION. THUS, HE CHOSE TO REMAIN NEUTRAL AND AVOID DIRECT PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANTAGONIZING ANYONE. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF 3379, HE CAN ALSO CLAIM SOME CREDIT FOR THE SUCCESS.

B. BOSSIER-PALUN'S ROLE HAS CHANGED SINCE THE 19TH GC. HE IS NO LONGER LEADER OF THE UNESCO AFRICAN GROUP, A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, NOR NOR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BENIN TO UNESCO. LOSS OF THESE POSITIONS HAS DIMINISHED HIS AUTHORITY SUBSTANTIALLY. FURTHERMORE, WITH RESPECT TO 3379 AT THE RACE CONFERENCE, SINCE M'BOW, HIMSELF, REMAINED IN THE BACKGROUND, BOSSIER-PALUN DID NOT EVEN HAVE MUCH DERIVED INFLUENCE AS M'BOW'S SPOKESMAN ON THIS ISSUE. A FURTHER DIMINUTION OF HIS AUTHORITY RESULTS FROM,

C. AGIOBU-KEMMER'S DRIVE TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF AS THE UNCONTESTED LEADER OF THE UNESCO AFRICAN GROUP.

D. TURKSON IS REPORTED TO HAVE DISPLAYED A LACK OF CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL ACUMEN, AT LEAST IN THE UNESCO CONTEXT. REPORTS ARE THAT HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO DIGEST AND ACT ON SECRETARIAT'S (VASAK) ADVICE WHEN PRESSURE WAS ON, AND FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO DISAPPOINT THOSE HE NEGOTIATED WITH IN FACE TO FACE SITUATIONS. AS A RESULT, PARTIES RELYING ON HIS GOOD OFFICES SOMETIMES HAD DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDINGS AS TO WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED.

5. WE WILL WATCH THESE INTRA-AFRICAN RELATIONSHIPS CLOSELY AT 104TH EXBD, AND KEEP CONTINUING REVIEW OF OUR TACTICS FOR COOPERATION WITH THE AFRICANS BETWEEN NOW AND THE 20TH GC, BUT AS OF THIS TIME, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT:

A. WE SHOULD USE BOSSIER-PALUN MAINLY AS A CHANNEL TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL. REGARDLESS OF DIMINUTION OF HIS AUTHORITY, HE DOES HAVE EASY ACCESS TO THE

DIRECTOR-GENERAL, AND WE THINK HE WOULD NOT DELIBERATELY
DISTORT ANY MESSAGE WE WOULD WANT TO SEND TO THE
DIRECTOR-GENERAL BY AN INTERMEDIARY.

B. WE MAY WISH TO USE AGIOBU-KEMMER AS OUR MAIN
CHANNEL TO THE AFRICAN GROUP WHEN WE WANT TO DEAL WITH
IT AS A GROUP. 104TH EXBD WILL GIVE FURTHER EVIDENCE OF
HOW EFFECTIVELY HE HAS ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AS
THE LEADER OF THE GROUP. THIS WILL REQUIRE A
RECHECK EARLY IN THE 20TH GC TO SEE WHAT AUTHORITY HE

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HAS WHEN ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE REPRESENTED.

C. WE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN OUR CONTACTS
WITH THE INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN EXBD MEMBERS AND
PERMREPS WHEN WE WANT TO DEAL WITH THEM BILATERALLY, AND
TO HAVE MULTIPLE-SOURCE READINGS OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE
IN THE GROUP.

D. TURKSON, UNLESS HE PICKS UP SPEED, PROBABLY
SHOULD NOT BE RELIED ON TO DELIVER VOTES.

6. WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED, BUT WISH TO INVITE DEPART-
MENT'S ATTENTION AGAIN TO WEAKENING OF WESTERN SUPPORT
FOR ISRAEL, AS EVIDENCED BY WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO

OPPOSE 3379 IN A SHOWDOWN. (PARA 2 REFTTEL A). AFTER HAVING RECEIVED INFORMAL ASSURANCES THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD PUT UP STRONG OPPOSITION TO 3379, ON THE LAST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE WE LEARNED THAT A NUMBER OF THEM, INCLUDING MOST OF THE NINE AND EVEN THE NETHERLANDS, MIGHT HAVE ABSTAINED ON AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO 3379 AND VOTED FOR THE DRAFT DECLARATION
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AS A WHOLE EVEN HAD IT CONTAINED AN INDIRECT REFERENCE. THE STRONGEST DESCRIPTION WE CAN MAKE OF THE SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AT THIS CONFERENCE IS THAT MANY DELEGATIONS WERE WILLING TO OPPOSE 3379 IN THE CORRIDORS, AND EVEN TO VOTE AGAINST PARAGRAPHS CONTAINING DIRECT REFERENCE TO 3379. FEW WERE WILLING TO STAND UP WITH US AND BE COUNTED ON THIS ISSUE IN A VOTE ON THE RACE DECLARATION AS A WHOLE.

7. THE NINE WERE GENERALLY DISPLEASED WITH THEIR TREATMENT BY THE CONFERENCE. THEY RESENTED NOT BEING PLACED EITHER ON THE CONFERENCE BUREAU OR IN THE DNG. THE SECRETARIAT, WELL IN ADVANCE OF CONFERENCE, DECIDED TO PUT BJORNEBY (NORWAY) ON AS RAPPORTEUR FOR REASON THAT THE RAPPORTEUR IS SOMETIMES CALLED ON TO DO IMPORTANT DRAFTING, AND THE SECRETARIAT FELT BJORNEBY WAS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL. HUMMEL (SWISS) WAS NAMED TO THE DNG BECAUSE OF HIS CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE INFORMATION GROUP (IG) DISCUSSIONS ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE, AND THE NINE ACCEPTED THIS. THEY WERE REPORTEDLY ANNOYED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. WAS NAMED TO THE DNG BOTH BECAUSE OF OUR ELEVENTH HOUR DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE, AND BECAUSE OF THE RESTRAINED ROLE THE PERMDEL HAD TO PLAY IN IG DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE AT THE TIME OF THESE DISCUSSIONS WE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT WE WOULD PARTICIPATE.

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8. US NON-MEMBERSHIP IN CONFERENCE BUREAU WAS DUE IN PART TO INABILITY OF AMBASSADOR TO ACCEPT MARCH 10 INVITATION TO JOIN AS VICE CHAIRMAN. SECRETARIAT, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD SINCE WE SENT REFTEL, DID NOT RULE OUT US PARTICIPATION IN BUREAU UNTIL WE TOLD THEM ON MARCH 13 THAT US PREFERRED A PLACE ON THE DNG. SINCE US COULD NOT BE PLACED ON BOTH BUREAU AND DNG, SECRETARIAT DECIDED TO USE SIX-MEMBER BUREAU AS PLANNED, AND ENLARGE DNG TO 12 TO ACCOMMODATE THE US. IN ANY EVENT, MANY HERE BELIEVE US INTEREST IN 3379 WAS BETTER SERVED BY OUR NOT BEING ON THE BUREAU, WHICH WAS THE ORGAN THAT DEALT WITH THE PREAMBLE AND THE 3379 ISSUE. HAD WE BEEN ON THE BUREAU, WE COULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED THE PROCEDURAL DEVICE THAT EVENTUALLY LED TO DELETION OF PARA 10.

9. AT 20TH GC, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE ARABS WILL AGREE TO INCORPORATION OF AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO 3379 IN THE DECLARATION, ALTHOUGH THEY REJECTED THIS SUGGESTION DURING THE RACE CONFERENCE. THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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LIKEWISE THE POSSIBILITY THAT WESTERN EUROPEANS WILL VOTE IN FAVOR OF A DECLARATION INCLUDING AN INDIRECT REFERENCE, EVEN THOUGH THEY ABSTAIN ON SUCH A PARAGRAPH IF VOTED ON SEPARATELY. OUR ONLY COUNTER TO SUCH THREAT MIGHT BE THE SAME ONE THAT SEEMS TO HAVE GOT US PAST THE DANGER AT RACE CONFERENCE: AFRICAN DESIRE TO HAVE US SUPPORT FOR THE DECLARATION.
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